1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ancestral-worship room in the main *tsu* house. (When other *tsu* need special funds for work in the room or for the worship itself, member families are usually taxed.) Whether village family groupings form a large or small *tsu*, or even smaller groups of related families, they do not function as central economic units for their member families. Each family or household is an independent economic unit.

While in many ways these seperate economic units do act in unison, such as for exchange labor on the basis of their kin or *tsu* relationships, for the most part their actions as economic units are fairly independent. This means that in many areas of activity the family operates with relatively little regard for their patrilineal kin in other households. Consequently, family economic and social relationships are not limited to patrilineal relatives. As in the single *tsu* village, many Hsin Hsing villagers belong to a number of both formal and informal social associations. However, in Hsin Hsing these activities bring them into regular contact with fellow villagers with whom they have no kinship relationship. Such a diversity of activities with both relatives and nonrelatives in the village does have a tendency to undercut the solidarity of the *tsu* or kinship organizations. In addition, family activities and relationships, both kin and non-kin, also extend beyond the village. (The latter will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.)

Still, the member families of each Hsin Hsing village *tsu* organization, including some which have no more than sixty to seventy people, do band together in many other village sociopolitical activities. Therefore, when we examine elected offices we see that the village mayor is one of the financially better off and influential members from the large K'ang *tsu*. The village representative to the *hsiang* council is an older "gentleman" from the big Huang *tsu;* he is considered well educated and (on the basis of the three *chia* [7.2 acres] maximum landholding allowed since the land reform) is a fairly large landowner who hires laborers to work his land. The elected agent and head of the village small unit of the district Farmers' Association is an influential member from the large Shen *tsu*. The villagers' choice of one relatively important man from each large *tsu* organization is clearly not a concidence.[8] Villagers definitely align themselves on the basis of *tsu* in such situations. Each *tsu* attempts to work for its own socioeconomic and political influence in village affairs, or at times in cooperation with other village *tsu* when that proves more advantageous. This is true in village elections or even in what appears to be occasional *tsu* block voting in district or county elections. According to the villagers, this would occur if one of the *tsu*'s own members is a candidate, but actually occurs more usually when a *tsu* member's *ch'in ch'i* or even friend is a candidate.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial rule. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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612 .666 with a large circle of loyal *ch'in ch'i* campaigners tends to win added personal respect in the area as a result, and when a man does not support his *ch'in ch'i* in an election, it is likely to prove embarrassing to both the candidate and his relatives. The recent importance of elections in Taiwan has unquestionably added to the cementing of good *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

612 666 653 474 It is not only the official governmental elections which depend heavily on *ch'in ch'i* relationships. There are other elections in the local area which are important to the villagers and in which the candidates again often depend heavily on their relatives. Local nongovernmental offices like those in the Water Conservation Association are extremely important to the area. This association has a great deal of control in the building and repairing of irrigation works and in generally controlling the flow of water to the rice paddies. There are also important elected officials in the district Farmers' Association, and *ch'in ch'i* play an important supporting role in the campaigns for these positions.

612 618 666 The support by people for their *ch'in ch'i* candidates for various offices is, of course, not based solely on loyalty to one's relatives. Like all *ch'in ch'i* relationships, these too are expected to be reciprocal. When a village or small group of neighboring villages has problems such as a court case or repair of a faulty irrigation system or a regularly flooded road, the suggestion is frequently made to send a certain villager to ask the aid of his *ch'in ch'i* who happens to hold some office, however minor, in which he could conceivably exert some influence on the government or private agency. Well-placed *ch'in ch'i* can be of great help if there is good *kan-ch'ing* and a feeling of obligation exists. Of course, a *tsu* relative in an official position is even more desirable, but in an area of small kinship groups one's *ch'in ch'i* may tend to outnumber one's patrilineal relatives, extend into a wider geographical area, and so offer greater possibility for aid. Even when a *tsu* member runs for public office in the local area he can ask and expect each of his many *tsu* relatives to solicit aid from *ch'in ch'i*. Although few villagers are actually involved in elections, the *ch'in ch'i* relationships which may be activated in behalf of a candidate are many and far-reaching.

628 612 The matrilateral and affinal relationships which have been described for Hsin Hsing village are not unique to particular families but are general throughout the village. And since such relationships are reciprocal, the same *ch'in ch'i* relationships described for Hsin Hsing village would tend to exist in at least as many villages in which Hsin Hsing people have contacts through marriage and adoption. The extravillage *ch'in ch'i* relationships thus tend to give the villager an additional source of security which can supplement what he derives from his intravillage relationships. Although they are not institution-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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eating, while continuing to push more food on him. When old people talk, even though the younger people may consider their words pure nonsense, they merely smile and agree. When the evening is over there is usually some young grandchild waiting to lead the old man back over the dark paths to his house.

Frequently, even though the older man has virtually retired as head of the household, he may still bear the title of *chia chang*. In such instances, it is usual for him, rather than for the son who is actually head of the house, to be elected to village positions. These positions may be political, religious, or social: the man may be charged with the arrangements for the *pai-pai* for the village god or elected *lin chang*, and so on. Although everyone knows that old men are not able to handle the extensive duties of these jobs, they are nevertheless elected by their fellow villagers out of respect. The selection is made with the knowledge that the duties and responsibilities of the position will be carried out by the man's sons, but his election tends to give the old man a great deal of face in the village. This arrangement is made possible by the manner in which elections are usually conducted in the village. Although there is an election, the outcome is usually pretty well predetermined by the families concerned, who agree before the vote is cast who will be elected and who will actually serve in the position.

ILLNESS, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

As has already been shown in Chapter 2, the tremendous increase in population on Taiwan is a reflection of the great reduction in the death rate, which results, primarily, from the lower incidence of fatal diseases. The control of disease has been effected by such factors as public health programs which have helped eliminate diseases like cholera and malaria, an increase in the number of Western-style doctors, an increased reliance on Western medicine and medical techniques, and somewhat better sanitation as a result of education of the public and governmental enforcement of health standards.

It was during the Japanese period that Taiwan saw the advent of Western-style doctors and medicines, especially in the 1930's. However, they were few, and their practice was limited mainly to the wealthy. The benefits of their knowledge, therefore, and the everyday use of Western-style medicines did not reach many of the rural people. During this period the rural people continued to rely primarily on Chinese doctors and herbal medicines, as well as magical cures effected by shamans and healing priests. (The magical techniques are discussed more fully in Chapter 8.) However, public health measures introduced by the Japanese government to combat epidemic diseases did benefit

621 556 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un although there are substantial differences in life style between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct relationship between family size and relative economic position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous. Most of the formal and informal community leaders are drawn from the wealthier families.

621 613 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu (sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants have married Liao men in the village. However, almost every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 624 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected 632 by consensus. The next larger significant government 666 unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote election for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to the township council, the next higher level administrative

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of woman and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

666 562 women. Conversely, women rarely talk politics in front of men and almost never promote candidates. After my promise of secrecy, a few women told me of voting the opposite of their husbands. I am sure some village men would be quite surprised to learn that their wives had not automatically voted for the candidates they had selected.

562 666 183 The underlying principle governing the above pattern of behavior, i.e., refusing to acknowledge a conflict situation or refusing to acknowledge many violations of normative standards, has appeared before in this account of Sanlei Ts'un in such guises as a female's behavior towards her husband's relationship with children in a female-managed household or in the manner in which poor villagers receive aid. It will appear again in many other forms and will be considered in the last chapter as it undoubtedly is a contributing factor to the various misconceptions about women's roles.

Let me illustrate the basis for this factor in another context. My wife once demonstrated that although American husbands and wives do not become more like each other in terms of opinionation and closed-mindedness (Rokeach and Rothman, 1965), the happier the marriage, the less the partners admitted implicitly they were different. That is, a person experienced less conflict when he was able to consciously feel that he and his spouse held

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
• 666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

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621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
621
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

666 632 The use of the term election in this account carries implications which are misleading for in Talei, elections themselves are rarely contests, and only serve, for the most part, to formally confirm a decision reached by consensus.

666 558 632 There is a long history in China of local control and local decision-making processes, usually based on finding a reasonable consensus as described above. There was also an underlying assumption that since the winner in a contest and the loser together with their respective descendants would continue to live in the same community for a long time, it was permitted to beat an opponent but not to destroy him. If no one loses too much face, it is possible to continue life together without great disharmony. The loser should be given status to recompense his loss and the majority should consider the desires of the minority by finding solutions nearly everyone can accept. Within the li, although not at higher administrative levels, there is a practice of having the runner-up elected to a secondary position.

The sentiment is also expressed in other ways, i.e., entertainment shows hired by the entire li alternate regularly in location from Erhlei to Sanlei in spite of the number of votes or amount of money contributed by either for both regions are expected to share prestige.

665
632 of the "progressive" faction. In the last election, each
665 faction had entered a candidate for mayor and one for
632 representative to the township council while a third mayor-
666 al candidate ran as an independent. In the weeks before the election, after much discussion and campaigning, it appeared the "traditional" candidate for mayor would win. Therefore, it was decided by the process of consensus previously discussed, that everyone should cooperate in his election and also, in accordance with the principle of shared prestige previously enunciated, elect the "progressive" candidate for representative who lived in T'oulei.

All candidates slated to lose save one attempted to withdraw, but only one, the independent, actually did withdraw. Both the government and the Kuomintang are encouraging free elections rather than consensus as a basis for selecting officials. Since an election which has only one candidate as a choice fails to give even an appearance of free elections, these outside units make it difficult for any candidate to withdraw once his name is up for an election. The former mayor who was then the "progressive" candidate for re-election did not cooperate in the compromise and continued to campaign but was badly defeated. Many villagers said the defeat was so bad because he was an unreasonable man who refused to cooperate. Although he

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He
632 will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the men to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

factions previously described within Talei Li. Talei Li is strongly in the camp of the "Inside the Mountain" faction which is similar to the li "traditional" faction. Although the factions are reasonably balanced overall within the li, the "traditional" faction is in overwhelming control of the more restricted membership of the Farmers' Association.

Currently there are 21 members of the association board, 13 from the "Outside the Mountain" faction. Ten years ago, when there were fewer li represented in the association, there were 15 board members, 8 from the "Inside the Mountain" faction and 7 from the other. At that time, Talei Li was in the majority faction but today, Talei is in the minority faction for the recently added li have almost all become members of the faction which was previously a minority. Farmers' Associations have been enlarging their memberships vigorously and according to Sanlei villagers, too broadly interpreting which men are farmers. It did seem to me that some members I met in Hsin Tien were farmers in name only. In any case, the new members seem to favor many policies which are not of immediate direct profit to farmers.

The election of the board member to a term of four years is hotly contested in Talei Li, even more so than the election of the mayor. The member receives an attendance fee of $40.00 for the meetings which average twice

474 per month. The present board member is from Sanlei and
• 666 is serving his second term. He has been influential in various kinds of agricultural committees since he was a young man who was once chosen as a farm youth representative to visit Japan and honor the emperor. Six years ago, he defeated the incumbent, the important Erhlei man who was the son of the former bandit chief in a very close election. Two years ago, he badly beat the "progressive" faction member who had been the previous mayor, also from Erhlei. The incumbent's residence in Sanlei and identification with Sanlei's faction helped his campaign. Also, the Farmers' Association members tend to be engaged in agriculture and are more traditional in orientation. The "progressives" are much more influential among li residents in general than among those who are primarily farmers.

There are two additional elected representatives: one is from Sanlei and the other from Erhlei; the latter is the badly-defeated candidate described above. Within the li, Sanlei's faction has an overwhelming majority in the Farmers' Association and could easily control the entire election process. The fact that an outsider holds office once more illustrates the previously introduced principle that there should be balance and harmony. Only the mayor said this explicitly but operations of the system, as demonstrated, strongly suggest it. Several men

474 claim that every conflict should be resolved and almost
• 666 everyone agrees that since there are two factions, each should be represented even if one does not have sufficient votes to insure election. This may be partially related to the old belief in consensus rather than majority rule.
558 Additionally, no one should lose "face," i.e., be too
621 embarrassed. The badly defeated man had lost face but
476 gained much of it back by being elected a representative.

Since the above value is important, let me illustrate it in another context. When money is collected for civic improvements or social affairs, some poor people pay nothing and some rich people pay more than their assessment. When names and contributions are posted on the temple, incorrect figures are listed so that everyone is indicated as donating something. Only the committee chairman or the li chang would know the truth about the whole community and the various lin chang or assistant committee chairmen would know the truth about their own neighborhoods. Thus, face can be saved by the poor although richer villagers are not earning deserved levels of prestige which are related to the size of the donation. Someone who did not pay an amount commensurate with the committee opinion would be so posted and thereby, lose face. The threat is so great that it has happened only once in Sanlei in the past twenty years.

361 621 the permanent temple committee.

The shia chang in the "below the water" neighborhood possess many different surnames. This area has the second ranking store in terms of sales but it is more modern with the only freezer and one of the two television sets in the village. A higher percentage of its population is engaged in other than agricultural pursuits. This section also includes both the active village tea processors who purchase tea leaves from farmers.

The portion across the river includes two "compounds" (one of which was illustrated in Figure 12) and two isolated households. This neighborhood may best be viewed as a residual category for there did not appear to be any behavior as a collective unit and no competition with the other two neighborhoods which sometimes compete with each other.

For example, the village had an opportunity in 1964 621 653 to establish a central water system which required building 666 a water tower and installing a pump and lines so that each 365 house could have running water. To participate, the village would have to achieve two-thirds approval in an election and raise half the requisite cost locally by the informal process previously described, i.e., by contributions rather than by formal taxation. Residents of the "above the water" neighborhood were naturally in favor of the construction since they did not have any running water. "Across the water" people were neutral, willing

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood. The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

These two neighborhoods became factions which were mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the